Humphrey Smears The Peace Demonstrations, P. 2

The Army Still Regards These Distant Asian Wars As A Blessing

"Korea has been a blessing. There had to be a Korea either here or some place in the world."

—Gen. James A. Van Fleet, commander of the U.S. 8th Army in Korea, to a visiting Filipino delegation, UPI from 8th Army HQ, New York Journal American, *Jan. 1, 1952.*

"With one eye on the fierce fighting in Vietnam, the Army is charting a major modernization program . . . Detailed plans already call for about $16 billion of 'hardware' . . . over the next five years . . . Both the Army's spending plans and those of the other services promise added zip for the nation's peppy economy. The accelerated Army purchasing alone may, if nothing more, tend to delay the day of any business letdown . . . If such tentative projects fail to receive a green light, the total will be pared a bit. But more significant in undoing present plans would be any cessation of hostilities in Vietnam, whether springing from an agreed-on cease-fire or a unilateral disengagement by the Communist side."

—Wall St. Journal *from Washington Nov. 4, 1965.*

The main danger, in other words, is peace.

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Behind Johnson's Fight With The Aluminum Trust

How little American businessmen know about their own economy is apparent from their defense of the aluminum companies. The president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce called the government's decision to release surplus aluminum "an unwarranted attack on the free market economy." Prices of aluminum have had little to do with a free market.

U.S. Industry's No. 1 Monopoly

From the time Aluminum Company of America bought out its only competitor in 1903 until a U.S. government loan put Reynolds Metals into the aluminum business in 1941, aluminum was the only important American industry which was a 100 percent monopoly. Even today, there is no price competition in the metal. Alcoa, with Reynolds and Kaiser, account for almost 90 percent of total output; they compete in product development but not in price. The market is free only in the sense that they are free to charge the consumer what they think best. Aluminum is one of those "administered price" industries on which the late Senator Kefauver put the spotlight in his famous anti-trust investigation a few years ago.

As Lyndon Johnson moves toward open conflict with the aluminum industry, he can find a useful ally in Harry Truman. It was Truman's exposure of the Alcoa monopoly* on the eve of our entry into World War II which brought him into national prominence. When FDR in a dramatic message in May, 1940, called for 50,000 planes, a shortage of aluminum proved to be the bottleneck. The Truman investigation called public attention to Alcoa's restrictive practices and led the government to break the monopoly and force expansion by putting two new producers, Reynolds and Kaiser, into the field. Government owned plants made it possible to win the war in the air. The disposal of these plants after the war established new producers. Unfortunately, Alcoa's superior economic power has inhibited price competition among them.

*See my Business As Usual: The First Year of Defense (1941).

What Morrison Wanted McNamara To See

Dear Mr. Stone: I have just sent this letter to Secretary McNamara and the Joint Chiefs of Staff:

Gentlemen: It is easy to dismiss Norman Morrison's dreadful act as the meaningless self-destruction of a deranged fanatic. It was desperate; it was futile; but it was not meaningless. What he was trying to say was:

"See what it is like for a man to die by fire. See it for yourselves. You, who make impersonal war, devising strategies and tactics in your air-conditioned offices, look and see!"

This very thing happens daily in Vietnam, where our planes rain down fire upon helpless villages (occasionally hitting a "friendly" one by mistake, for which we apologize profusely), always burning with dreadful, clinging napalm fire, burning human beings to death regardless of age, sex or political belief. Norman Morrison, at the last moment, realized he could not commit his infant daughter to a decision in which she had no part. But we can and do decide "Better dead than red" for North and South Vietnamese children.

—Marian E. Manly, M.D., Walnut Creek, Calif.

It is no accident that the first clash between business and government in the Vietnamese war should be with aluminum. It is required not only for planes but for bombs and a large variety of other uses like aluminum matting for improvised air fields. The $1,700,000,000 supplementary appropriation last August for the Vietnamese war has sharply increased aluminum requirements. Since the industry is already operating at capacity, the choice, as McNamara explained, was between releasing 200,000 tons from the government's surplus stockpiles or "expect continued increase in imports from foreign sources and pressure on prices in the domestic market or a combination of both." Higher imports would put a further strain on the U.S. balance of payments. Higher demand would stiffen prices. If aluminum gets away with a price rise, steel will follow and an inflationary spiral begin.

If Johnson, as reported earlier, was "sputtering mad" over

(*Continued on Page Four*)

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Attorney General, However, Sees No International Conspiracy In Anti-War Protest

Humphrey Smears Peace Demonstrations As Masterminded by Reds Abroad

We are ashamed to report that the most liberal member of the Johnson Administration, Vice President Humphrey, has gone furthest in smearing the peace movement. Secretary Rusk Nov. 6 deplored the possible effect on Hanoi but defended the right to demonstrate against the war. Humphrey, according to a report in the *Michigan Daily* Oct. 23, said during an appearance in Detroit, "Do you think those demonstrations were organized by some fine little social club? They were organized by an international apparatus. 95 percent of the demonstrators are no more Communists than you or I. But the international Communist movement organized it and masterminded it." When Attorney General Katzenbach was asked in Chicago Oct. 17 whether he saw "any tie-in" of the peace demonstrations "to Hanoi or Peking or Moscow or overseas?" he replied "In this sense only: that whenever you have a movement of this kind, which is consistent with the views of the Communists, you are likely to find some Communists in it." He was then asked, "But does that mean that they are running it?" and replied, "No, I don't think that means they are running it."

THAT NUMBERS GAME ON PLANE LOSSES: On Oct. 16 Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. McConnell said air force losses in Vietnam were "a little higher than in World War II but lower than in the Korean war" (UPI from Saigon in St. Louis *Post Dispatch*). Now Pentagon Reporter John G. Norris reports (*Washington Post*, Nov. 4) that warplane losses over North Vietnam "are running slightly under 7 per 1,000 combat sorties" or more than double that of the Korean war. Next day the Pentagon issued a denial, claiming that plane losses over North Vietnam were only 3.2 per 1,000 sorties or less than those of the Korean war and World War II. The lower figure was obtained by including non-combat missions: rescue, high level reconnaissance (too high to be shot at) and weather missions. In Korea the Air Force used high level B-29s for interdiction purposes; they flew too high to be reached by flak. The comparable B-52s which bomb South Vietnam are not used over North Vietnam, though they can carry ten times as much bomb tonnage as the F-105s, because of the surface-to-air missiles (SAMs) developed since the Korean war. If one brought down a B-52 much secret gear on these planes, equipped for nuclear bombing, would fall into enemy hands.

Still Far From Victory

"The massive buildup of American forces in Vietnam so far has accomplished few positive results . . . Around Danang there have been American Marine combat units since March. Yet late in October the Vietcong made their most successful attack of the war against an air base—at Danang . . . Although the control of roads and the railroad has improved since the low point in July, parts of eight major highways and the rail line remain closed to military traffic . . . There have been numerous forays by American units against suspected enemy concentrations in what are called sweep and clear operations, but there has been only one smashing ground offensive victory by Americans in seven months since combat soldiers arrived—below Chu Lai, where they destroyed most of a hard core Viet Cong regiment. The area is now in the hands of Vietnamese pacification teams. Unless their effort to regain the loyalty of the villagers succeeds better than elsewhere, the Marines will some day have to go back into the area. . . . On how long the war in Vietnam will last, one astute American official predicted 'it will take a generation.'"

—Jack Foisie from Saigon in Wash. Post *Nov. 7.*

AND WE THINK WE HAVE TROUBLE WITH A FEW DRAFT CARD BURNERS: In praising the work of the South Vietnamese police, Richard Critchfield disclosed from Saigon in the *Washington Star* (Nov. 8) that since October 1964 they had arrested 1,733 army deserters and 28,307 draft-dodgers. If the war were as unpopular here as it is there, the U.S. (with 13 times the population) would have 22,529 deserters and 367,991 draft-dodgers! Even this understates it, since no figures were given on the *total* number of Vietnamese deserters and draft-dodgers . . .

A MORE PAINFUL FIGURE turned up in *Le Monde* (Nov. 6) which reported from the annual meeting of the International Social Service Council in Geneva that at the beginning of the summer there were more than 10,000 abandoned children in South Vietnam, living in some 60 orphanages. The comparable figure for our population would be 130,000.

The Fear That if The Viet Cong Accepted A Cease-Fire They Could Win An Election

"Saigon—If the shooting stopped tomorrow in Vietnam, the Communists could well win the goals for which they are fighting, in the view of knowledgeable Americans here. It is ironic that some Americans now fear that the Viet Cong will suddenly accept the repeated offers for an armistice . . . The United States now has almost 150,000 troops in South Vietnam . . . And American officials are aware that the presence of the American military creates a tendency to sit back and let the Yanks do the fighting . . .

"This is bringing American troops into closer and more frequent contact with the rural population. One recent survey by the U.S.I.A. showed that fewer Vietnamese respected American troops than respected the regular Vietnamese army which has never enjoyed much popularity among the nation's war-weary peasantry.

"Veteran American advisers see the American military buildup as simply a bigger and better crutch to prop up a diseased government . . . High ranking Vietnamese officials, each denying his own guilt, readily admit corruption is more widespread than any time since the overthrow of Ngo Dinh Diem . . .

"The Viet Cong could decide to agree to an armistice and send their 200,000 well indoctrinated troops back to their native villages where they would propagandize for the Communist cause. There would be mounting pressure to withdraw American troops which President Johnson is publicly committed to do . . . When the morale of America's allies hits rock bottom, the Viet Cong could launch an appeal for—and possibly win—national elections."

—Ray Herndon (UPI) in the Chicago Tribune, *Oct. 31.*

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Why HUAC Is Not The Right Vehicle For Studying This Terrorist Network

The Need for A New and Wider Congressional Inquiry Into The Klans

We suggest that a committee of respected lawyers be set up to frame a resolution under which Congress, without infringing constitutional rights, could investigate the Ku Klux Klan. There have been two previous investigations, one in 1872, the other in 1921. There are several objections to the investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee which has just recessed until Jan. 4. The first is that the mandate of this committee, to look into "un-American" activities and ideas is too vague and infringes on First Amendment rights. When an organization trains and arms its members to violate the rights of others by criminal acts, it has moved from the realm of ideas to the realm of crime. Congress is fully within its rights to examine into such organizations to determine what new legislation may be needed to deal with them.

The Klan and the Police

There is a second objection to the HUAC investigation. Its staff, an ill-assorted collection of retired hotel dicks and aging ex-Communists, share with the Klan the tendency to see Communist conspiracy everywhere. They live in the same paranoid universe. A different breed of investigator is required. There are areas of inquiry which call for courage and insight.

One is in the area of cooperation between the Klan and the police. Donald T. Appell, chief investigator of HUAC, admitted in his opening statement on October 19, that there had been "some infiltration of law enforcement agencies by the Klan," but hastened to add that "the overwhelming majority of police and law enforcement officers in the South are neither Klan members nor sympathetic to the Klan." We believe this was much too sweeping. In the South, even where police are not members or sympathizers of the Klan, there is a tendency to regard Klan activities as forgiveable peccadilloes while civil rights demonstrators are dealt with harshly. Some FBI men in the South share the same biases.

A second area of inquiry lies in examining the way in which Klan terrorists, through respectable connections, come to dominate whole communities. Congressman Weltner of Atlanta, Georgia, put such a study into the *Congressional Record* Oct. 27 (p. A6181-2) in the case of Bogalusa, La. Mr. Weltner, one of a new breed of courageous young Southern white liberals, was one of those who promoted the HUAC inquiry in the first place. The fact that he put the Bogalusa story, complete with names, into the *Record* would seem to indicate that he had lost a fight within the committee for just such a community inquiry. Judging by Mr. Weltner's memorandum, an inquiry of this kind would require a willingness to take on not just "red-necks" and petty racketeers but respected business and civic leaders in secret linkage with the Klan. Mr. Weltner named Klansmen in the police, the school board, the county commission, the labor unions, and the city officialdom.

Most important of all: a new inquiry ought to call victims of the Klan, Negro and white. This sort of testimony has been conspicuous by its absence in the HUAC hearings.

Martin Luther King Turns Pan-African

Q. Is your activity exclusively an American civic action within the strictly normal framework of your country's democracy, or do you feel that your struggle against racial segregation links up with the struggle of all the oppressed and of the Africans in particular? Do you feel close to the Africans?

A. Our problems are similar . . . There is no essential difference between segregation and colonialism . . . The discontent that rumbles in America and elsewhere is the same cry of despair and revolt as that of the disinherited elsewhere in the world. For a long time colonialist Europe, and the rich societies, have dominated humanity to the disregard of all human dignity . . . A great many of our brothers of Africa and Asia have shaken off the yoke of oppression . . . The current battle of American Negroes is only another chapter in this unfinished story. It is an integral part of that vaster world struggle for justice among men. You ask if we feel close to the Africans. They are our brothers from whom we have never ceased to seek inspiration and comfort in our struggle. We expect a great deal of them, for today the pressure they can exert as independent states on the American government and opinion could profoundly change the course of the fight we are carrying on."

—Martin Luther King in an interview with Jeune Afrique *(Algiers) Nov. 7.*

How the British Labor Party Left-Wing Feels About Wilson's Rhodesia Policy

"With the solitary and sinister exception of South Africa, independence has never before been granted to any British colony except on the basis of majority rule. Will Mr. Wilson now explain to us why this firm rule is now to be waived? Why, in this one instance, it is accepted by his Government that all that is required is guaranteed progress toward majority rule? Why, in this one instance, it is acceptable to contemplate handing over a colony to the Government to a white minority? Why he thinks that Mr. Smith and his settler colleagues, after years of repression, during which the Africans have been systematically denied education, property, good wages and political advancement, can now be relied on to accept and indeed foster the growth of political power among the African majority? . . .

"'In my talks with the African nationalist leaders [Prime Minister Wilson said], I regarded it as my duty to remove from their minds any idea or any hope they might have had that Rhodesia's constitutional problems were going to be solved by an assertion of military power on our part, whether for the purpose of suspending or amending the 1961 constitution, of imposing majority rule tomorrow or any other time—or for that matter of dealing with the situation that would follow an illegal assertion of independence.'

"Why, when there is still every possibility either of UDI [a unilateral declaration of independence] or of a final breakdown in attempts to achieve a negotiated settlement, does the Prime Minister so adamantly rule out the use of force? Why, in other words, is he prepared in the last resort to see Britain abdicate her responsibilities in the face of the intransigence of a minority of racial fanatics?"—London Tribune *(Nov. 5) organ of the (non-Communist) Left-wing of the British party.*

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In The Long Run (And Not So Long) Only Peace Can Prevent Inflation

(*Continued from Page One*)

the aluminum price rise, he had a right to be. The government has been supporting aluminum prices at an uneconomic level for years by purchases for stockpile. The stockpile was supposedly for defense purposes. A major part of the industry's business has been created by government spending, military and civilian. The industry's profits are at the highest point in its history.

How the Stockpile Program Was Rigged

Unfortunately, the industry has the government at a disadvantage in three respects. The stockpiling program has been rigged in favor of the companies. First of all the aluminum in the stockpile is not of the highest purity and there are uses which require purer metal than the 99.50% to 99.75% pure offered from stockpile. There are uses which require 99.9%. Secondly the aluminum stockpile is in the form of ingot, and there is a limited market for this outside the big integrated companies the government is fighting. There are plenty of small fabricators but they depend on the big firms for aluminum sheet, strip, wire bars or castings. Finally the law provides that sales from stockpile must be at market prices. The big companies fix this price. The law was written to keep the government from using stockpiles to bring down prices. But there is some sign that the Johnson Administration is preparing to take a tough line on what is meant by "market prices." We call attention to a fascinating passage in the White House press conference of Nov 6:

Q. Mr. Secretary, you say you will dispose of this at the current market price? McNamara: Yes.

Q. Is this the new price that was just established by the aluminum industry?

McNamara: The market price would be the price at which buyers and sellers in the market dealing at arm's length would agree on the one hand to buy and on the other to sell.

Q. In other words, the price increase just announced by the industry would be reflected in your price?

McNamara: Not necessarily. Many transactions take place at other than the published price.

The price fixed by the big companies is hardly an "arm's length" affair. To insist on a real market price could be an opening for a vigorous anti-monopolistic policy. The decision to sell 300,000 tons instead of 200,000 and at a faster pace indicates that Johnson after a week of wavering, has decided to fight. While the President is receiving strong support from his party on aluminum prices, two longer range points need to be made. Insofar as peacetime is concerned, industries where prices are "administered" instead of reached on a free market ought to have their prices regulated like those of public utilities. Senator Hart, Kefauver's successor as chairman of the Senate Anti-Trust Committee, hinted at this on TV's *Today* show Nov. 2. The other is that whatever the outcome of the battle with aluminum, there is bound to be inflation if the Vietnamese war continues and escalates. And that will be the end of the War on Poverty and the Great Society. *Nov. 10*

Bircher Welch at Howard University

Robert Welch was so anxious to come to Howard University last week that he waived his usual $3000 speaking fee. In return, school officials were determined to accord the John Birch Society leader the honors of a visiting dignitary. A student-faculty dinner was arranged (and held without incident). Welch was permitted to set the ground rules for the question period (all questions had to be submitted in writing). And special police were on hand to prevent demonstrations (A SNCC worker passing out leaflets announcing an unrelated future meeting was escorted from the hall). So careful was the planning, that when Welch arrived in the auditorium accompanied by two embarrassed students and a pair of dour professors, the audience applauded politely. For 45 minutes, while Welch droned on about the Communist menace, the audience barely stirred. Then Welch started to talk about Negroes and the delicately manufactured atmosphere crumbled. "The communists," Welch told them, "want to terrorize the ordinary loyal Negro citizens into appearing to support a drive for an independent Negro republic." Hoots and laughter spread in the hall. "The Negroes in this country are happy," Welch went on. "They have more cars than all the 150 million Africans put together." The moderator scowled, the students roared. Everyone knew that Howard's attempt to hold a tea party for the opposition had failed.—P.O.

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